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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata maiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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753 776 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea mahpliolia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wawauwa, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *wino*, anything tangled; *wwa*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *halomea*, species of sea anemone; *matua halou*, variety of sea cucumber; *halou*, eel; *weka*, octopus; *ulayina*, sea porcupine; *ulayele*, variety of star fish; *wualwa*, univalve shell; *kuwa*, another univalve shell; *hawa*, a seaweed; *pupuhawa*, a rank seaweed; *pihipihi*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *hawwa*, a robber crab; *halawi*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molohau*, milipede; *weli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

757 759 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yiwayiwa*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yiwayiwa* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manawawa*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tonga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *wale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuenuga*[a] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *kaulima* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Pukapukan word *tuenuga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamau was a priest of Te Lanpapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *toiva*, the *vete*, the *mamia*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he his it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Walieu. Walieu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malosila*, the *eve*, the *uuti kova*, the *ue*, the *kaiowa*, the *atule*: when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tauvakouako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*uuua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tauvakouako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutulo*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-